

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 04 OF 05 BONN 20133

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16. BLECH SAID THE EUROPEANS WERE TRYING TO COME TO GRIPS INTELLECTUALLY WITH THE QUESTIONS THAT WOULD BE DEALT WITH IN SALT III. IF, AS WARNKE HAD SUGGESTED, SALT III MIGHT IN PART BE IN THE FORM OF AMENDMENTS TO SALT II, THIS PRESUPPOSED THAT IT WOULD CONTINUE TO BE A BILATERAL MATTER. WARNKE REPLIED THAT TWO DIFFERENT NEGOTIATIONS WERE CONCEIVABLE BUT SAID THE QUESTION HAD NOT YET BEEN THOUGHT THROUGH BY THE US. THE PROBLEM DESERVED URGENT ATTENTION, AS DECISIONS WOULD HAVE TO BE REACHED ON SUCH QUESTIONS AS WHETHER THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES WOULD BE INCLUDED AND, IF SO, HOW.

17. RUTH NOTED THAT SUCH ISSUES HAD NEVER BEEN DISCUSSED IN NATO AND SUGGESTED THE NEED FOR VERY CONFIDENTIAL, INFORMAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS. WARNKE SAID THAT HE AGREED COMPLETELY, AS DID SECRETARY VANCE, AND THAT SUCH DISCUSSIONS SHOULD BE HELD ON A PRIORITY BASIS. THEY WOULD AFFECT THE WORDING OF THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES IN SALT II. ONE POSSIBILITY FOR A QUID PRO QUO FOR A LIMITATION ON GLCM'S IN SALT III WOULD BE THE SS-20; THIS WOULD IMMEDIATELY RAISE THE QUESTION OF THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES. BLECH REFERRED TO THE NEED FOR REACHING A CLEAR CATEGORIZATION OF ALL THE ITEMS IN THE GRAY ZONE. IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO

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ASSIGN A VALUE TO EACH AND TO REACH A VIEW ON WHETHER THE INDIVIDUAL ITEMS COULD BE INCLUDED IN SALT III.

18. WHEN VAN WELL RAISED THE SAME ISSUE, WARNKE POINTED OUT THAT THE SECRETARY HAD MADE THE POINT FIRMLY TO GROMYKO BOTH IN MARCH AND IN MAY THAT THERE WOULD BE NO DISCUSSION OF FBS UNTIL THE SOVIETS WERE PREPARED TO DISCUSS SUCH THINGS AS SS-20 AND IRBM'S. HE ADDED THAT IT HAD ALSO BEEN MADE CLEAR TO SEMENOV IN GENEVA

THAT WE COULD NOT ACCEPT THAT SALT III COULD DEAL WITH
US NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE BUT NOT WITH SOVIET
WEAPONS TARGETED ON EUROPE. VAN WELL EXPRESSED
APPRECIATION FOR THIS US POSITION AND HOPED THAT THE
POINT COULD ALSO BE REFLECTED IN THE DECLARATION OF
PRINCIPLES.

19. WARNKE OBSERVED THAT ACCEPTANCE OF FBS AND SOVIET
THEATER NUCLEAR SYSTEMS AS INVOLVED IN SALT III WOULD
SOLVE SOME PROBLEMS BUT WOULD INTRODUCE OTHERS. SALT
COULD NO LONGER BE STRICTLY A BILATERAL NEGOTIATION;
AT A MINIMUM, THE US WOULD NEED A DELEGATION OF
AUTHORITY FROM THE ALLIES. VAN WELL AGAIN REFERRED TO
THE FRENCH DETERMINATION NOT TO BE "DRAWN IN" TO THE
NEGOTIATIONS. AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE, THEY WERE
OPPOSED TO ANYTHING WHICH WOULD PLACE LIMITATIONS ON
THEIR DEFENSE FORCES. HE THEN EXPRESSED THE VIEW --
STRESSING THAT IT WAS PURE SPECULATION ON HIS PART --
THAT THE FINAL OUTCOME OF ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS WOULD
BE THAT THE US WOULD CONTINUE TO CONDUCT THE BILATERAL
NEGOTIATIONS BUT THAT THE BACK-UP WOULD BE MORE
STRUCTURED, WITH MORE CONSULTATIONS IN NATO. WHILE
THIS WOULD MEAN THE EXCLUSION OF BRITISH AND FRENCH
NATIONAL FORCES FROM THE NEGOTIATION -- WHICH WOULD POSE

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PROBLEMS FOR THE OTHER SIDE -- HE COULD SEE NO OTHER
OUTCOME AT THE MOMENT.

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